

A new find of Muhammadan Coins of Bengal (Independent Period).—By
DR. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE. (With two Plates).

In February or March 1883 a treasure consisting of 85 silver coins (Rupees) was found by some kúlís while they were working at an embankment lying to the north of Daulatpur and south of Bansígrâm in the Thana Dewan Serai in the District of Murshidábád.*

As usual the coins were forwarded to this Society for identification (on the 22nd May 1883) and thus came into my hands. The result I exhibit in the following table :

Name and Number of Sultán.†	Date of reign A. H.†	Description.	No. of coins.
V. Abúl Mujáhid Sikandar Sháh,	759-792	Two varieties.	2
VI. Ghiyáshu-d-dín Abúl Muzaffar A'zam Sháh,.....	792-799	1
IX. Shihábu-d-dín Abúl Muzaffar Báyzíd Sháh,.....	808-817	1
X. Jalálu-d-dín Abúl Muzaffar Muhammad Sháh,.....	817-834	1
XII. Náshiru-d-dín Abúl Muzaffar Mahmúd Sháh I,	846-864	{ Muzaffar type, several varieties.	28‡
		{ Mujáhid type, several varieties.	7
XIII. Ruknu-d-dín Abúl Mujáhid Bárbak Sháh,	864-879	{ Mujáhid type, two varieties.	2
		{ Muzaffar type, several varieties.	18
		{ Anonymous type.	25
Total,...			85

A large number of the coins are very much disfigured by shroff-marks. Regarding the object of such disfigurement, see Blochmann's explanation in this Journal, Vol. XLIV, p. 288, footnote.

* See official letter from H. Mosley, Esq., Collector of Murshedabad to the Commissioner of the Presidency Division, No. 271 G., dated Berhampore, 10th May, 1883.

† Taken from Blochmann's Table in J. A. S. B., Vol. XLII, p. 308.

‡ One of these is broken in two pieces.

There are several circumstances which give to these coins a particular interest.

In the first place, nearly one half of the coins of Ruknu-d-dín Bárbak Sháh are entirely new. Only a very few coins of this Sultán have, hitherto, become known, and they are all of the *anonymous* type; while many of the coins, now found, give his full name Ruknu-d-dín. Also among the coins of Náşiru-d-dín Mahmúd Sháh I, there are no less than six entirely new types, Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, while among the four other, already known types, some give new dates, and others, being in better preservation, throw additional light on the legends.

In the second place, the present coins settle a curious point regarding the use of the so-called *kunyat* or patronymic appellation. I believe it has been generally assumed that no more than one *kunyat* could be borne by the same ruler. At least, this appears to have been the only reason for setting aside those few traces of a contrary evidence which, as I shall presently show, did occasionally crop up. But the testimony of the coins, now discovered, appears to leave no reasonable doubt on the subject that some rulers did make use of two *kunyats*. The Muhammadan histories, to judge from Blochmann's "Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal" in Vols. XLII, XLIII, XLIV of this Journal, know of no other *kunyat* for Náşiru-d-dín I but *Abúl Muẓaffar*, nor any other for Ruknu-d-dín, but *Abúl Mujáhid*. But the present coins show—and other evidence, as I shall presently show, confirms the fact,—that both those Sultáns were in the habit of using both names, *Abúl Muẓaffar* and *Abúl Mujáhid*. Whether they did so at will, or for stated reasons, I am not able to determine; but the point might be worth further investigation.

Having once recognized the fact of the use of several *kunyats*, I began to make a search for any previously recorded traces of it. Those I found I shall now enumerate, only premising that my examination was a cursory one, and that a closer search may reveal many more instances.

(a). In the Xth Vol. of this Journal the Hon'ble H. T. Prinsep describes a number of Muhammadan coins found in Howrah*. Among them

No. 3 is a coin of Abúl Muẓaffar Sikandar Sháh, the son Ilyás Sháh. He is commonly known by the *kunyat* Abúl Mujáhid.

No. 15 is a coin of Jalálu-d-dín Abúl Mujáhid Muhammad Sháh. He is the tenth Sultán of Bengal, from 817-834 A. H., and his usual *kunyat* is Abúl Muẓaffar.

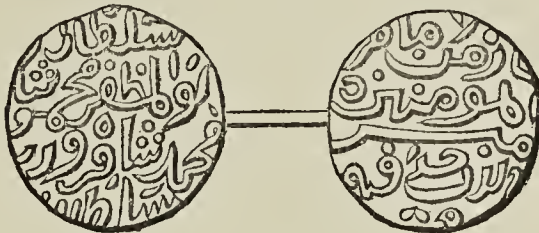
No. 25 is a coin of Saifu-d-dín Abúl Muẓaffar Hamzah Sháh, the son of A'zam Sháh. He was the seventh Sultán reigning from 800-804 A. H., and he usually bears the *kunyat* Abúl Mujáhid.

* J. A. S. B., Vol. X, pp. 168, 169.

No. 28 is a coin of Nāṣiru-d-dín Abúl Mujáhid Maḥmúd Sháh. Prinsep reads "Mahomed Shah", and adds that "he appears to be Mahomed Sháh, afterwards king of Hindustán whe reigned from A. H. 627-634." This shows that his "Mahomed Sháh" is an error for "Maḥmúd Sháh". It is clear, however, from the style of the legend on the obverse, that the coin is not one of the Dehlí Emperor Nāṣiru-d-dín Maḥmúd Sháh, but of the Bengal king of that name, in fact, of the same Nāṣiru-d-dín Maḥmúd Sháh I, to whom the coins of the new find belong.

Unfortunately these coins were not figured, and it will perhaps not be quite safe to rely implicitly on the correctness of Mr. Prinsep's readings. If the *kunyat* Abúl Mujáhid was read correctly, his coin of Nāṣiru-d-dín Maḥmúd may have been one like No. 7 or No. 12 of the present set.

(b). Mr. Thomas, on p. 136 of his "Chronicles of the Pathán kings of Delhí", describes a gold piece of Maḥmúd Sháh, the grandson of Fírúz Sháh, on which he reads the *kunyat* as Abúl Maḥámid. The letters, however, on the figure of the coin (his Pl. IV, fig. 143), I think, are quite susceptible of being read as Abúl Mujáhid; and still more so on a coin of Maḥmúd's father Muḥammad Sháh (Mr. Thomas' Plate IV, fig. 134).* But however that may be, there is a gold piece of Maḥmúd in the Society's collection, which clearly gives him the *kunyat* Abúl Muzáffar, as shown



in the wood cut. It, at all events, shows that Maḥmúd assumed two *kunyats*, Abúl Muzáffar and Abúl Mujáhid or Abúl Maḥámid, whichever of the two latter be the correct reading.

(c). Blochmann, in Vol. XLIII of the Journal, quotes an inscription of Bárbak Sháh, of the year 868 A. H., which gives that Sulṭán the *kunyat* Abúl Muzáffar.† On this he observes in a footnote, that "it seems to be a mistake for Abúl Mujáhid." But there is an old Persian Dictionary, the Sharáfnámah-i-Ibráhímí which, as Blochmann himself informs us, is dedicated to Bárbak Sháh and, in the concluding verse, also styles him

* Thus the large, elongated dot over م can certainly not be the "zabar" of *Maḥámid*, though it may be the worn "pesh" of *Mujáhid*. I have referred to both Badaoní and Ferishtah; but neither of them mentions the *kunyat* of Maḥmúd.

† J. A. S. B., Vol. XLIII, p. 297.

“Abúl Muzaffar”.* Blochmann suggests that the Bárbak Sháh here intended may be “the Bárbak Sháh of Jounpur who ruled in Jounpur from 879 (the year when the Bengal Bárbak Sháh is said to have died) to 881, etc.” But this is not very probable. In any case, the testimony of the inscription, which is really unimpeachable, is confirmed by the coins, now found, which give Ruknu-d-dín’s full name and date. Indeed, from the fact that not less than 18 coins of 4 different types (Nos. 13, 14, 15, 16) give him the *kunyat* Abúl Muzaffar, while only 2 coins of 1 type (No. 12) style him Abúl Mujáhid, as well as from the fact that the author of the Persian Dictionary, in dedicating his work to Bárbak Sháh, addresses him by the name Abúl Muzaffar, it would almost seem that Ruknu-d-dín preferred that *kunyat* to Abúl Mujáhid, albeit he is better known by the latter *kunyat* in the histories. Out of four known inscriptions, three call him Abúl Mujáhid, while in the fourth he is called Abúl Muzaffar.†

(d). In Vol. XLIV of this Journal, Blochmann published a coin (his No. 8) which clearly reads Abúl Mujáhid.‡ This he himself admits; his words are: “if the last had not been found together with the others, I would be inclined to attribute it to Mahmúd Sháh II, as the *kunyat* looks more like Abúl Mujáhid than Abúl Muzaffar.” Still for the reason mentioned, and under the prejudice that a king could not use two different *kunyats*, he reads Abúl Muzaffar. Probably the same reasons prevented Blochmann from recognizing that his coin No. 3 (or fig. 4 of his Plate) also reads “Abúl Mujáhid,” though the letters, in this case, are not quite so clear as in the case of his No. 8. But an imperfectly preserved “Abúl Mujáhid” can generally be almost certainly distinguished from an imperfect “Abúl Muzaffar” by the presence or absence of the connecting stroke after the *z* *za* and *j* *ja* respectively, which otherwise have a great resemblance to each other. The difference can be very clearly seen by comparing No. 3 with No. 4 in Blochmann’s Plate; the former has Abúl Muzaffar, the latter, Abúl Mujáhid. Moreover, there is fortunately among the newly found coins one (No. 10) which is a duplicate of Blochmann’s No. 3 and on which the word “Mujáhid” is clear enough. Now Blochmann’s No. 3 is dated 852 A. H.; and my three specimens of No. 8, of the Mujáhid type, are dated 86[*] 862, 865. The only king with whom all these dates agree is Náşiru-d-dín Mahmúd Sháh I, who reigned from 846-865 A. H.; and these coins, therefore, clearly prove that Mahmúd Sháh I made use of the *kunyat* Abúl Mujáhid as well as of the *kunyat* Abúl Muzaffar, though in the histories he appears to be only known by

* J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXVIII, p. 8, Vol. XXXIX, p. 296, footnote.

† J. A. S. B., Vol. XLII, p. 272, Vol. XLIII, pp. 295, 296, Vol. XLIV, p. 291.

‡ J. A. S. B., Vol. XLIV, pp. 288, 289; Plate XI, fig. 9.

the latter. This being so, it becomes very probable that the coins of the same (*i. e.*, Mujáhid) type which bear no date or the date of which is no more legible, must be ascribed to the same Sulṭán Maḥmúd Sháh I. To this class belong my coins Nos. 9 and 11, Blochmann's No. 8 (his fig. 9), and the coin No. DCCXXIV published by Marsden in his *Numismata Orientalia*. The latter was republished by Laidlay in Vol. XV of this Journal.* Both he and Blochmann ascribe it to Náṣiru-d-dín Maḥmúd Sháh II,† commonly known as Abúl Mujáhid, probably a grandson of the first Náṣiru-d-dín Maḥmúd Sháh, who is supposed to have reigned in 896 A. H. As they had not the advantage of the present evidence of dated coins, their error is not surprising; nor, indeed, in the absence of legible dates, can their ascription be said to be impossible, but probability is greatly the other way. The second Náṣiru-d-din, as Blochmann shows, can only have been about seven years old at the time of his accession; for at his father Fateḥ Sháh's death (probably in 892) he was two years old; and he was murdered after a reign of only about six months.‡ Under these circumstances there is little probability, that coins—and coins too of various types—were struck in his name. Moreover, it will be observed that the coins of the present find, are nearly all of Maḥmúd I and Ruknu-d-dín; there are only five of previous reigns, but none of any reign after Ruknu-d-dín. If the undated coins of the Mujáhid type were ascribed to Maḥmúd II, there would be a large gap in the series of coins, extending over no less than five reigns, between Ruknu-d-dín and Maḥmúd II. For this reason, too, it is more probable that the undated coins belong to Maḥmúd I.

(e). In Vol XLII of this Journal, p. 289, Blochmann has given an inscription of Náṣiru-d-dín Abúl Mujáhid Maḥmúd Sháh. He was unable to read the date, and ascribed the inscription to Maḥmúd Sháh II, on account of the *kunyat* Abúl Mujáhid, mentioned in it, while the *kunyat* of Maḥmúd Sháh I, as he says, was Abúl Muẓaffar. The date, however, is not so illegible as Blochmann makes it out to be. It is in all probability 847 or 849; see his Plate VII, No. 3; in the left-hand lower corner the word سنه "year" is distinct; just above it is clearly enough the word سبع "seven" or تسع "nine"; and above that, again, is the word (rather indistinct) ثمانماية "eight hundred"; lastly to the immediate right of سنه is the word اربعين "forty"; the whole date being 847 or 849. Indeed the date is so clear, that I suspect it was merely because Blochmann felt himself unable

* J. A. S. B., Vol. XV, p. 331; Plate V, No. 18.

† J. A. S. B., Vol. XLII, p. 289.

‡ See J. A. S. B., Vol. XLII, p. 288.

to make it agree with the reign of Maḥmúd II, that he thought it was illegible. The year 847 or 849 only suits Maḥmúd I, and it shows that the inscription must be ascribed to him and that he used also the *kunya* Abúl Mujáhid. It thus appears that out of six known inscriptions of this Sultán, he calls himself Abúl Muzaffar in five,* and Abúl Mujáhid in one. A circumstance which tends to confirm the ascription of the last inscription to Maḥmúd I is that it commemorates the erection of a mosque during the Sultán's reign (في عهد سلطان), such as could hardly have been built during the short reign of 6 months of Maḥmúd II, a boy 7 years old.

In the third place. My coin No. 8b is important as it fixes a new date for Maḥmúd Sháh I. The latest date hitherto ascertained, from inscriptions, was 863.† The earliest known date of Maḥmúd's successor Bárbak Sháh was *Safar* 865. Thence Blochmann rightly concluded that Maḥmúd Sháh must at least have reigned till the beginning of 864.‡ The coin, No. 8b, now proves that he actually reigned in the year 864.

In the fourth place. The reverse of No. 8, is noteworthy. Laidlay (J. A. S. B., XV, p. 328) says of Náṣiru-d-dín I, "being unable to record a royal paternity on his coinage, he seems to have contented himself with the simple repetition of his name and title, etc." But Náṣiru-d-dín I evidently had neither cause nor inclination to be so humble, for on the coins No. 8, he claims to be the son as well as the grandson of a Sultán. This claim is supported by the histories, which "agree in describing him as a descendant of Ilyás Sháh."§ May not his reverse on No. 8 show that he was actually a grandson of Ilyás Sháh, and a son of Abúl Mujáhid Sikandar Sháh?

In the fifth place. There is a curious resemblance between my coin, No. 12, of Bárbak Sháh, and the coin of Saifu-d-dín Abúl Muzaffar Fírúz Sháh II, published by Blochmann in Vol. XLII, p. 288. The resemblance is particularly striking in the reverse.

I now proceed to describe the coins:—

I. ABÚL MUJÁHID SIKANDAR SHÁH.

Of this Sultán there are two coins. One belongs to the type described by Mr. Thomas in the J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXVI, p. 66, No. 26, and figured in Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia*, Plate XXXVI, No. DCCLIX. The other (Plate XVII, No. 18) is also described by Mr. Thomas, *ibidem*, p. 64,

* J. A. S. B., Vol. XLI, pp. 107, 108; Vol. XLII, pp. 270, 271; Vol. XLIII, pp. 294, 295; Vol. XLIV, p. 289.

† J. A. S. B., Vol. XLII, p. 269, Vol. XLIV, p. 288.

‡ J. A. S. B., Vol. XLII, p. 269.

§ J. A. S. B., Vol. XLII, p. 269.

No. 22, but not figured. The mints and dates are not legible on either of the two.

II. GHĪYÁS-U-D-DĪN A'ZĀM SHÁH.

His coin is of the type figured and described by Mr. Thomas, *ibidem*, p. 69, No. 35. Mint and date illegible.

III. SHIHÁBU-D-DĪN BĀYAZĪD SHÁH.

His coin is of the type figured and described by Blochmann in J. A. S. B., Vol. XLII, p. 263, No. 1. Mint illegible, date apparently 809.

IV. JALÁLU-D-DĪN MUḤAMMAD SHÁH.

His coin is of the type figured and described by Blochmann, *ibid.*, p. 267, No. 3. Mint illegible; date apparently 828.

V. NĀṢĪRU-D-DĪN MAḤMÚD SHÁH I.

(a). *Muzaffar Type.*

No. 1. (Plate XVI, fig. 1). Five specimens; apparently duplicates of the coin, No. 5, described and figured by Blochmann in J. A. S. B., Vol. XLIV, p. 289, the date of which however was not legible. One of the present coins (fig. 1), now in the Society's Collection, shows the date 848; on the others it is not legible. The legends on both sides are the same as on Col. Hyde's coin, published in J. A. S. B., Vol. XLII, p. 269, No. 1.

Obv. ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمود شاه السلطان

Rev. المورث بتأييد الرحمن خليفة الله بالحجست و البرهان ضرب ٨٤٨

No. 2. (Plate XVI, fig. 2). Nine specimens. The obverse legend is the same as that of No. 1, except that the word شاه is here placed below, instead of above, the word السلطان. The reverse reads:*

نائب غوث الاسلام والمسلمين خلد ملكه وسلطانه سنة ٨٥٣

One of them (fig. 2) shows the date 8[5]3 (خزانه ٨٥٣); two others are dated [85]2 and 859. The coin, No. 7, published by Blochmann, J. A. S. B., Vol. XLIV, p. 289 (fig. 8 on his Plate) is very much like the coin, now figured, in general appearance; but the latter has a double row of scollops on the obverse, while Blochmann's coin has only one row and, besides, has the words شاه السلطان placed as in No. 1 of the present series.

* The word الاسلام appears on all these coins as التلام.

No. 3. (Plate XVI, fig. 3). Five specimens; in all respects like No. 2, except that the latter are small, thick pieces, while No. 3 are large and thin with broad ornamented margins. On two specimens the dates are legible; one (fig. 3) has 860; the other probably 8[5]9.

No. 4. (Plate XVI, fig. 4). One specimen; a small thick piece, like No. 2; also with the same legends; but that on the obverse differently arranged, in a rather curious way. Date, probably on reverse, obliterated by shroff-marks.

No. 5. (Plate XVI, fig. 5). Three specimens; very crude pieces, one of them broken in two. Obverse legend as usual; the reverse entirely illegible through shroff-marks.

No. 6. (Plate XVI, fig. 6). Five specimens; with very slight variations; broad, thin pieces, like No. 3, but without any margin on the obverse. The lettered surface of the latter shows the well-known ornamental elongated strokes. The legends on both sides are the same as on No. 1. On one coin (fig. 6) the date is 847, on another apparently 84[8].

(b). *Mujáhid Type.*

No. 7. (Plate XVI, fig. 7). One specimen; in all respects like No. 6, except that the word *Mujáhid* is substituted for *Muzaffar*. The date is 862. A similar coin was published by Laidlay in J. A. S. B., Vol. XV, Plate IV, No. 7, but its reverse legend is different, *viz.*, that of No. 2 of the present series. He wrongly ascribed it to Jalálu-d-dín Muhammad Sháh. Blochmann appears to have read on it Abúl Muzaffar, but the name is exactly as on my coin, and is clearly Abúl Mujáhid.

No. 8. (Plate XVI, figs. 8*a* and 8*b*). Three specimens; in general appearance, like Nos. 6 and 7; the obverse legend is also the same, but the reverse has the following inscription of which the latter portion is continued from the area on to the margin:

in margin	in area
خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه	السلطان ابن السلطان ضرب ٨٦٤

They are all dated; one has 862, another (fig. 8*b*) has 864, the date of the third (fig. 8*a*) is mutilated 86[*].

No. 9. (Plate XVII, fig. 9). One specimen; in general appearance like No. 2; both legends also the same as on No. 2, except that the word *Mujáhid* is substituted for *Muzaffar*. The date which would have been on the reverse margin is unfortunately lost. The coin, No. 8, published, by Blochmann, in J. A. S. B., Vol. XLIV, p. 289 (fig. 9 of his Plate) appears to have been identical with the present one. He makes the legend

on the reverse to be the same as on Col. Hyde's coin (*i. e.*, the same as on No. 1 of the present series); but this is clearly an error; for his coin shows distinctly the word *والمسلمين*, and on my coins both words *اسلام* and *مسلمين* can be made out. But it should be noted that the inscription is distributed over area and margin, as in No. 8, thus:

in margin	in area
[* * سلطانہ ضرب * *]	نائب غوث الاسلام و المسلمين خلد

No. 10. (Plate XVII, fig. 10). One specimen; similar to No. 9, but the lettered surface of the obverse is ornamented with elongated strokes. Both legends are the same as on No. 9, but the reverse legend is differently distributed over area and margin, *خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه* being in the area, and the rest in the margin. This coin is evidently a duplicate of coin, No. 3, published by Blochmann, in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLIV, p. 288 (fig. 4 on his Plate). On the present specimen, the word *Mujáhid* is quite distinct, while Blochmann's coin supplies the date (852) which is illegible on mine.

No. 11. (Plate XVII, fig. 11). One specimen; a broad thin piece, in general appearance like No. 3, but with different ornaments on the margins, and a different legend on the reverse area. The latter is the same as on No. 1, while the legend of No. 3 is the same as on No. 2. Unfortunately the date is illegible.

VI. RUKNU-D-DÍN BÁRBAK SHÁH.

(a). *Mujáhid Type.*

No. 12. (Plate XVII, fig. 12). Two specimens; broad, thin pieces, with lettered surfaces only; the legends being:

Obv. السلطان ركن الدنيا و الدين ابوالمجاهد باركشاه السلطان ابن محمود شاه

Rev. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله خزانه ٨٧٤

Dates of both, 874.

(b). *Muzaffar Type.*

No. 13. (Plate XVII, figs. 13*a* and 13*b*). Eleven specimens; in general appearance like No. 11; large thin pieces, with two areas and two broad ornamented margins. The legends on the areas are:

Obv. ركن الدنيا و الدين ابوالمظفر باركشاه السلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان

Rev. The same as on Nos. 1 and 11.

The following dates can be recognized: 867, 870 (on fig. 13a ٨٧٠ خزانه), 871, 875, 877. The last date is indistinct and might be 867. One specimen (fig. 13b) shows very clearly 827 (٨٢٧ بالربع), though there can be no doubt that the 2 (٢) is either a mistake for 6 (٦) or a badly executed 7 (٧). The words preceding the dates seem to be خزانه "treasury", and بالربع "with the fourth".*

No. 14. (Plate XVII, fig. 14). Two specimens; a slight variety of No. 13, the و of الدين on the obverse commencing the second line of the legend, while on No. 13 it ends the first line. The date is just recognizable as 878. There is no trace of any margin, but they are probably clipped away.

No. 15. (Plate XVII, fig. 15). Three specimens; another slight variety of Nos. 13 and 14, the و being placed as in No. 14, and the last word ابن محمد شاه السلطان being written on the same line with ابن محمد شاه instead of below it, as in Nos. 13, 14. Observed dates 867 (on fig. 15) and 877.

No. 16. (Plate XVII, fig. 16). Two specimens; a variety of No. 15, the letters, especially on the reverse, being much larger and coarser. Date and margins clipped away.

(c). *Anonymous Type.*

No. 17. (Plate XVII, fig. 17). Twenty-five specimens; exactly like the coin, figured and described by Marsden in his *Num. Orient.*, Plate XXXVIII, No. DCCLXXV. Among them there are 16 dated 873, two dated 872 and one dated 870. The dates of five are illegible; and one (fig. 17) seems to show 761 twice! The words preceding the dates are, on some خزانه (on fig. 17), on others بالربع.

All the coins figured on Plates XVI and XVII are now in the Society's collection, except the coin of Sikandar Sháh (Pl. XVII, fig. 18) which is in my possession. In the Society's collection are the following coins: 2 specimens of No. 1 (d. 848); 4 of No. 2 (d. 852, 853, 859); 4 of No. 3 (d. 859, 860); 1 of No. 4; 1 of No. 5; 3 of No. 6 (d. 847, 848); 1 of No. 7; 2 of No. 8 (d. 864, 86*); 1 each of Nos. 9, 10, 11; 1 of No. 12 (d. 874); 13 of No. 13 (d. 867, 870, 871, 875, 877, 827). In my own possession are the following; 1 specimen of No. 1 (d. 8[48]); 1 of No. 2 (d. 859), 1 of No. 3 (d. 8[5]8); 2 of No. 6 (d. 857); 1 of No. 8 (d. 862); 1 of No. 12 (d. 874); 2 of No. 13 (d. 867, 870).

* On the ربع or land-tax of the fourth; see Blochmann in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLII, p. 219.